R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 010 682 AL 000 008

THE MORPHO-SYNTACTIC TYPOLOGY OF THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES.

BY- BIDWELL, CHARLES E.

PUB DATE SEP 64

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.09 HC-$1.08 27P.

DESCRIPTORS- #RUSSIAN, #SLAVIC LANGUAGES, #MORPHOLOGY (LANGUAGES), SYNTAX, KERNEL SENTENCES, #LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY, DIALECTS, SERBOCROATIAN, POLISH

THIS PAPER STATES THE COMMON GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND MENTIONS MINOR VARIATIONS FROM THE PATTERN, AS THEY EXIST IN THE SEPARATE LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS. THE AUTHOR DESCRIBES BOTH COMPONENTS OF SENTENCES AND THE ORDERING OF THESE COMPONENTS. THE BASIC KERNEL SENTENCES ARE LISTED WITH THE TYPES OF CONSTITUENTS OCCURRING IN THEM, AS WELL AS THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY OCCUR. TYPES OF SENTENCES AND CLAUSES, AND WAYS OF FORMING QUESTIONS AND INDICATING NEGATION AND AGREEMENT ARE ALL CONSIDERED IN SOME DETAIL. THE AUTHOR ALSO INDICATES THE WAYS IN WHICH THE SLAVIC GROUPS (EAST, WEST, AND SOUTH SLAVIC) DIFFER FROM EACH OTHER. (KL)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

AL 000 008

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

ED010682

The Formula-Imitation Repertory of the Spoken Sentence

by

Wallace E. Lambert

Professor of Slavic Languages and Linguistics

University of Pittsburgh

(Preprint not for general distribution)

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED

BY Author
Charles E. Bidwell

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
September 1964

1.1 The minimal full sentence consists of a finite verb form (whose endings typically give indication of the number and person of the subject). The verb, which serves as the nucleus, or head, of the sentence, may optionally be accompanied by a noun (or pronoun) subject, noun (or pronoun) objects (or complements) and adverbial modifiers. A minor sentence type in some languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian; Polish and certain Slovak dialects) is the equational sentence with the verb 'to be' omitted in the present tense (regularly in the first three languages mentioned; optionally in the latter two), e.g. Russian Máti' _ v sadú. 'Mother(is) in the garden.'

The dominant declarative sentence order is subject-verb-object. If the object is a pronoun, the order is subject-object-verb. The noun inflexion of the various Slavic languages permits relative freedom in shifting the word-order, but any departure from the dominant (or neutral) word-order carries with it special semantic emphases of various kinds. Minor sentence types (e.g. Russian U menjá jést' nóž 'I have a knife') occur which depart from the dominant order, but the most frequent sentence types, when semantically neutral, retain it.

Adverbs and adverbial expressions (mainly prepositional phrases) which modify the sentence appear after the object or, in some cases, before the subject. Short adverbs may also appear between subject and verb. Adverbs modifying adjectives or other adverbs appear before the element modified.

The prepositional phrase consists of a preposition followed by a noun (or noun phrase).

The noun phrase has as its minimal element, or head, a noun (or other nominal word, such as a pronoun or numeral) and may be accompanied by modifiers. In general, declined modifiers with agreement to head (adjectives, numerals, so-called demonstrative and possessive "pronouns") precede the head, while others (nouns in apposition to the head, nouns in genitive or other case, relative clauses, adverbial expressions) tend to follow the head. Among the declined modifiers, the following order prevails: deictics (demonstratives), possessives, numerals,[1] qualitative adjectives. Shifts of the foregoing word-orders do occur, but again entail semantic or stylistic modifications.

The verb phrase consists of a single verb or of a verbal construction (auxiliary plus main verb). The auxiliary normally precedes the main verb and may be separated from it by intercalated pronoun objects, or short adverbs.

The negative particle, when modifying the sentence as a whole, is always proclitic to the verb.[2] In constructions, it is proclitic to the auxiliary, except as follows: In Polish it is proclitic to the main verb (l-form) in the past construction: Nie kupiłem vs. SCr. Ja nisam kupio 'I didn't buy'. In Czech and Slovak, it is proclitic to the main verb if the main verb is in the l-form. Thus:

Slovak: Ja som nebol. vs. SCr. Ja nisam bio. 'I wasn't'

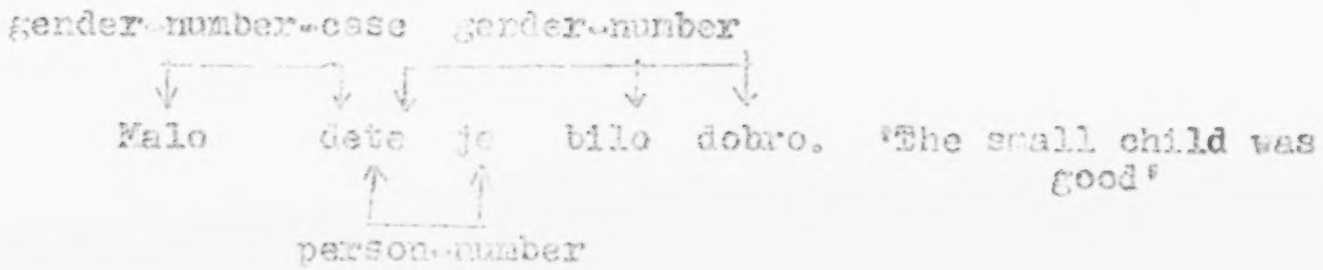
Czech: Ne koupil bys vs. Polish: Ty byś nie kupił

SCr. Ti ne bi kupio

Russian (plus Ukrainian and Bielorussian) in the conditional may have either ja ne kupil by or ja by ne kupil 'I wouldn't buy'. Every one of the Slavic languages have unstressed "particles" proclitic or enclitic to stressed words. These include in Russian the conditional particle by and the emphatic particles -to and že. The East Slavic languages seem not to have short unstressed pronoun forms -- the West and South Slavic ones do, but vary in the rigor of the rules governing their use. SCr. is probably strictest in this respect, requiring in semantically neutral context use of the short pronoun, which is normally enclitic to the first stressed unit of the major segment and in no case may begin a major segment. The South Slavic languages also have short forms of auxiliary verbs and the order of enclitic forms is strictly regulated. Bulgarian, Macedonian, and (with lesser frequency) Slovenian however permit short forms to stand at beginning of the major segment. Thus, inc. Ke se bríčam na berber. vs. SCr. Brijat ću (Brijaću) se kod berberina. 'I'll get shaved at the barber's; Slov. Si ga videl? vs. SCr. Jesi ga video? or Dali si ga video? 'Did you see him?'; Bulg. Ste vi se obádjat po telefóna. 'I'll get in touch with you by telephone.'

Agreement is of two major kinds: person-number agreement between subject and verb (between the head of the noun phrase and the auxiliary verb, when subject and verb are not minimal) and gender-number-case (~~gender~~ case agreement only if the language has case categories) agreement between declined attributes and head in

noun phrase. A subcase of this type of agreement (with case neutralized) is that between subject and adjective nominative complement in equational sentences. The main verb in the past construction (historically a participle) shows this agreement with the subject.



These types of agreement are illustrated by the above SCr. sentence. Those languages in which the past has no auxiliary (East Slavic, i.e. the languages which obligatorily zero the copula in the present) and in those forms of the other languages, where the copula is zeroed (see below) show gender number agreement (rather then person-number) between subject and past verb, e.g.

Russian: Sestrá uslá 'Sister went away.'

Questions are of two main types; those introduced by a question word(e.g. Rus. któ 'who', gdé 'where' etc.) and those which pose the choice of alternatives (usually the answer 'yes' or 'no'). Question-word questions usually maintain the regular word-order, except that the question-word, without regard to its function in the sentence, is placed in sentence-initial position. Alternatively, when the question-word is not a subject, the normal order (SV) may sometimes be inverted to (VS), the question-word remaining of course in initial position. Alternative questions present a more complex picture, the devices used to express them varying from language to language. All of the languages know the [illegible] is expressed solely by intonation

contour, neutral word order being retained. This appears the predominant pattern in colloquial Russian: On rabotaet na fabrike? 'Does he work in the factory?' Another pattern involves placing an enclitic question particle li after the item queried (normally the verb -- as sentence nucleus -- unless some special emphasis is intended); the item with li is then moved to sentence initial position, other items of the sentence retaining their accustomed order (this of course usually involves inversion of SV to VS). Rabotaet li on na fabrike? This pattern is the normatively prescribed one for Russian and Serbo-Croatian, though seemingly bookish and non-colloquial, excepting in special sentence types (e.g. negative sentences in Russian). In Bulgarian and Macedonian it is quite alive in colloquial speech, though the rule that the item to which li is appended shifts to initial position, is not as strictly observed as in Serbo-Croatian and Russian. Macedonian: Mnogu li e raćno da imaš maz pečalbar? 'Is it very difficult for you to have a husband who is a migrant worker?' Slovenian has the li question particle, but it is apparently obsolete in current usage.

Simple shift of word order from SVO to VSO (apparently usually accompanied by special interrogative intonation contour) is the normal question type in Czech and Slovak and occurs in colloquial Polish and Slovenian, as well. It occurs in colloquial Serbo-Croatian, but is largely limited to sentences containing verbal constructions, the shift placing the auxiliary in initial position, followed by subject (if present) and then the main verb. Thus: Jesi uzeo stan? or more literarily, with li: Jesi li uzeo stan? 'Did you take the apartment?'

A widespread Slavic pattern for alternative questions is to introduce the question by a special question indicator, otherwise retaining the usual word order and intonation contour of statements. Such question indicators are: Polish czy, Ukrainian čy, Bielorussian ći, Serbo-Croatian dali (colloquial jel'), Slovenian ali, Slovak či, Bulgarian dali, Macedonian dali. The use of the question introducer in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Czech and Slovak is however limited, other patterns as mentioned being predominant.

Incorporated sentences, i.e. sentences serving as constituents in a larger structure, include direct quotations, indirect questions and statements, relative clauses, and conditional clauses. Direct quotations are simply described: they are independent sentences embodied in a supercordinate sentence, usually as an object of a verb of saying. Indirect question-word questions likewise are identical in structure with independent question-word questions, serving usually as the object of a verb of saying, knowing, thinking etc. Indirect statements are identical with independent statements, but are introduced by a special indirect-statement introducer. Thus, Russian čto (/šta/ unstressed, in distinction to /štó/ 'what'), Ukrainian ščo, Bielorussian što, West Slavic że (Polish spelling że), Serbo-Croatian (and Slovenian) da, Bulgarian če, Macedonian deka or oti. Indirect sentences expressing wish, desire, or intention have, in South Slavic, da as introducer, the da-clause serving also, in those languages which have lost the infinitive, as replacement for that form. In Macedonian and Bulgarian intentional sentences may be strengthened by placing za before the da-clause. In Slovenian intentional clauses may also be introduced by naj,

which is used to form independent hortatory or optative sentences. In West Slavic such intentional sentences have the conditional construction and are introduced by a (Polish, Czech, Slovak) or že (Polish, Slovak) plus the conditional auxiliary. Russian and Ukrainian introduce them with Russian čto /šta/ or Ukrainian ščo plus the conditional particle by and Bielorussian by kaby(/).

Relative clauses are introduced by relative words -- words which serve as constituents both in the included (relative) sentence and in the including, superordinate sentence. Such words in Slavic are for the most part identical with question words and the word order of relative clauses is that of question-word questions. A peculiarity of Slavic is that the relative serving as a noun phrase head in the relative clause (Russian; kotórij, kakój, Ukrainian; kotrýj, Bielorussian; jak'i, Polish; jaki, Czech který, Slovak ktorý, Serbo-Croatian; koji, Slovenian kateri) is identical with an adjective, which, when used interrogatively means 'which(one)' or 'what kind'. In Bulgarian and Macedonian, these adjectives have also assumed the function of interrogative pronouns Bulgarian kakvó 'what', Bulgarian and Macedonian koj 'who'. In Bulgarian, relatives, though otherwise identical in form with question words, have suffixed -to. Thus koj 'which', 'who' (interrogative) kójto 'who' (relative). In Macedonian, similar suffixation of śto is optional. In Slovenian, most relatives, though identical in root with the corresponding interrogative, have a suffixed or infixed -r-. Thus kdo, kdor 'who', kako, kakor 'how', kaj, kar 'what', kakśen, kakršen, 'what kind'. Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Slovenian also have an undeclined relative which serves as a noun attribute in the superordinate and a noun in the relative clause, Ser. and Bulgarian što, Slovenian ki, thus:

SCr. čovek, što si mu dala knjigu 'the man to whom you gave the book' Slovenian; tovariš, ki sem z njin delal na progi 'the comrade with whom I worked on the railway' Bulgarian; kmętit, što izabraxme 'the mayor whom we elected' Note that when the relative functions as a noun in an oblique case the enclitic pronoun usually occurs, so that the relative here is actually discontinuous, consisting of što (or ki) plus the appropriate pronoun. Macedonian has a similar use of što: Ne e toj što go ćekav. 'It's not that one whom I expected'. Colloquial Bulgarian has another undeclined relative dè or deto used in the same way rúpčeto, deto ti go dádox 'the quarter groschen, that I gave you'

2.0 Conditional sentences.

Compound sentences expressing conditions (of the type 'if....., (then).....') present a special type of construction in which the if-clause is incorporated, presumably as an adverbial modifier (D) in the result clause.[2a] In the case of real conditions, the pattern is pretty much the same for all of the Slavic languages; a conjunction 'if' introduces the if-clauses, the result clause may, or more frequently, does not have any special introducer. Ordinary verb forms are used depending on time reference. In the case of unreal conditions there is considerable diversity. In the East Slavic languages the pattern is simple. The same conjunction 'if' is used as in real conditions, but both the if-clause and result clause have the verb in the by-construction (by plus l-form; in Russian, alternatively, by plus infinitive). In unreal conditions the colloquial versions of East Slavic do not apparently make tense distinctions, i.e. present and

past unreal conditions are not differentiated by verb form. Literary Ukrainian and Bielorussian (and somewhat archaic Russian) do have however a construction consisting of by plus l-form of the verb 'to be' plus l-form of the main verb which may be used in both clauses of past unreal conditions.

East Slavic real and unreal conditions are illustrated in the following table:

Conditional in East Slavic

real: if.....(then) unreal: if... by.. (then).... by

(pluperfect byl by rare in Bielorussian, Russian; not col. in Ukrainian).

Russian:

Если он работает на фабрике,	Если бы работал на фабрике
(то) живёт в городе.	жил бы в городе.

Bielorussian:

Калі ён працуе ў фабрыцы,	Калі б ён працаваў ў фабрыцы
тады ён жыве ў месьце.	то жыў бы ў месьце.

Ukrainian:

Якщо він працює в фабриці,	Якщо б він працював у фабриці,
то він живе в місті.	то він жив би в місті.
'If he works in the factory,	'If he worked in the factory,
(then) he lives in town'	(then) he'd live in town.'

In West Slavic, as in East Slavic, unreal conditions have the conditional construction in both if- and result-clauses. In Polish and Czech the conditional auxiliary is a declined verb form; in Slovak it is a particle by, accompanied in the first and second persons by the anomalous present of "be".

West Slavic differs from East Slavic in that 'if' in real conditions may be expressed by a different word from that used in unreal conditions. Colloquial Czech and Polish, like East Slavic, neutralize the tense distinction in unreal conditions. Slovak (literary usage only?) distinguishes past and present unreal conditions.

West Slavic conditional usage is illustrated in the following examples:

Polish

real conditions: jeżeli (sometimes gdy)...., to ...

Jeżeli mam tę ksiązkę, to ci ją pożyczę.

Jeżelibym miał tę książkę, pożyczyłbym ci ją. (also gdybym and jakbym)

or pozycze ci ją

If I should have this book, I would (will) lend it to you.

(future condition)

unreal conditions: gdy + / or / jak + } by -l ....., ...by.... -l

Gdybym miai tę książkę, pozyczyłbym ci ją.

If I had that book, I'd lend it to you.

(or had had..... would have)

Czech

real conditions: když, jestli (-že)....., ...

Když budeme dobře pracovati, budeme dobře žíti

(or Jestli(že) budeme...., or Budeme-li....,)

'If we work well, we'll live well

unreal conditions: kdy+conditional....., ...conditional

Kdybychom meli cas, šli bychom do divadla.

'If we had the time, we'd go to the theater.'

Slovak

real: ak, akže, ked'....,.....

Ak prechladnete, budete vi trpiet', a nik iný.

'If you catch cold, you'll suffer and no one else.'

unreal: ke+by + l-form..., by+l-form

(pres.) Keby je mal pole, tiež by robil

'If he had a field, then he'd work.'

(past) On by bol zplakal, keby sa nehanbil Martinka

'He would have started to cry, if he hadn't felt shame on account of Martinek.'

The infinitive may substitute for the conditional in the if-clause:

Ja by ho boI spalil, nebyt' tvojej prosby

'I would have burned it, were it not for your request.'

The by particle is unchanging in Slovak as in East Slavic and colloquial Serbo-Croatian.

South Slavic presents the greatest diversity in its conditional sentences (as in many other structural features).

Slovenian uses če (also da or ako)for 'if' in real conditions. In unreal conditions there are two main patterns. One uses ko or da as 'if' and requires the conditional construction in both if-clause and result clause. Present unreal conditions have as conditional construction the bi particle plus the l-form of the verb 'to be' plus the l-form

of the main verb. The other pattern for unreal conditions uses da as 'if' and is identical with the principle pattern for Serbo-Croatian unreal conditions described below.

Slovenian

real conditions: če(če, ako, da, dale, samo da)

Če bo suša, bo slaba letina. If there's a drought, there'll be a poor harvest.

Če se bom zdaj pridno učil, bom še izdelal.

If I study industriously now, I'll still pass.

Če bi se zdaj pridno učil, bi še izdelal.

If he studies industriously now, he'll still pass.

unreal conditions: Ko, da (če excluded)

pres.
- Ko bi prijatelj imel denar, bi ti pomagal.
  'If (your) friend had money, he'd help you.'
- Da imam, bi ti dal.
  'If I had, I'd give (it) to you.'
- Da bi mama vedeli za to, bi se bridko zjokali.
  'If mamma knew about that, she'd weep bitterly.'

past.
- Ko bi bil imel denar, bi bil knjigo kupil.
  'If I'd had the money, I'd have bought the book.'
- Da ni bilo tebe, bi se bil utopil.
  'If it hadn't been for you, he'd have drowned.'

Serbo-Croatian uses ako as 'if' in real conditions. The principle pattern for unreal conditions uses a da-clause as if-clause. Only the result clause contains a conditional construction and in this clause tense distinction is neutralized. In present unreal conditions, the da-clause has the verb in the present. In past unreal conditions the da-clause has the verb in the past construction. An alternative pattern for present

unreal conditions uses ako as 'if' with conditional construction in both if and result clauses.

examples:

Serbo-Croatian

real conditions: ako....,...

Ako bude suša, biće slaba žetva.

'If there's a drought, there'll be a poor harvest.'

Ako radi u fabrici, živi u gradu.

'If he works in the factory, he lives in town.'

unreal conditions: da...., ~~bi+l-form~~ or ako bi+l-form...., bi+l-form

Da radi u fabrici, on bi živeo u gradu.

'If he worked in the factory, he'd live in town.'

Da je radio u fabrici, on bi živio u gradu.

'If he had worked in the factory, he'd have lived in town.'

Ako bi on živio u gradu, on bi radio u fabrici.

'If he lived in town, he'd work in the factory.'

Bulgarian uses ako for 'if' in real conditions. Unreal conditions are expressed by ako or da as 'if' with the past tense or past construction in the if-clause and with the past tense of the verb xot/št- 'will' plus a da-clause in the result-clause. Tense distinction in unreal conditions is apparently neutralized.

Bulgarian is the only Slavic language which does not use a conditional construction based on by- in unreal conditions. Bulgarian has such a construction, but uses it only in attenuated statements.

Bulgarian

real conditions: ako.....,....

Ako ìskate nèšto v pôveče, obadéte mi.

'If you want something else, let me know.'

unreal conditions:

ako } + a past tense, a past tense of xot- + da-clause
da }

Da mógex, štjàx da ùči po dobré.

'If I were able, I'd learn better.'

Štjàxme da se zagúbim, ako ne znàexme pâtja.

'We'd get lost, if we didn't know the way.'

In Macedonian real conditions are expressed by ako 'if' followed by an appropriate tense except that future real conditions will have the verb in the present or in the conditional construction (bi + l-form). Alternatively, in future real conditions, the if-clause may have da 'if' plus perfective present. The result clause may have any tense appropriate to the time reference or, in future real conditions, may have the conditional construction. Unreal conditions may show one of three construction types: (a) neutralizes time reference (i.e. it may refer either to present or past unreal conditions); in it the if-clause shows ako or da with verb in the imperfect, the result clause will have ke plus imperfect or bi plus l-form, (b) refers only to present unreal conditions and has da plus imperfective present in the if-clause and in the result clause either one of the constructions listed for the result clause of (a) above or the future construction or imperfective present, (c) refers strictly to past unreal conditions and shows a pluperfect

construction (imperfective past tense of 'be' plus l-form) in the if-clause and ќе plus imperfect in the result clause.

Macedonian

real:

(present) Ако се одделни збирните именки, тогаш прирокот иде во множина.

'If the subjects are collective nouns, then the predicate goes into the plural.'

(future)

Марко { ако { би бил(1) / е (2) / бидe(3) } / да биде (4) } во градот, { ќе дојде (except with 3,4) / би дошол / доаѓа (except with 2) } во градот

'If Mark's in the city, he'll come visit us.'

unreal:

(tense neutralized)

Марко { ако / да } беше во градот, ќе дојдеше кај нас / би дошол кај нас / доаѓаше кај нас

'If Mark { had been / were } in the city he { 'd have / 'd } come to visit us.

(present)

Марко да е во градот, ќе дојдеше кај нас / би дошол кај нас / ќе дојде кај нас / доаѓа кај нас

'If Mark were in the city, he'd come to visit us.

3.0

The Slavic languages can be divided into two major typological groups, the Balkan and the non-Balkan. The Balkan group is marked by a number of morphosyntactic traits apparently acquired by linguistic diffusion from non-Slavic forms of speech and shared with non-Slavic neighboring languages -- in first line with Albanian and Macedo-Rumanian, to a lesser extent with Modern Greek and Daco-Rumanian.[3] The Balkan features are drastic reduction or total loss of case distinctions in the noun, development of an enclitic definite article suffixed to the first element of the noun phrase, reduplication of pronoun objects (the object occurring once in enclitic form, once in stress bearing form or as a noun), loss of infinitive and its replacement by a phrase consisting of the present tense of the verb introduced by the optative particle (da in the case of the Slavic languages), formation of the future construction either with a short enclitic auxiliary derived from a verb meaning 'to wish' or with a future particle (derived from the same verb) followed by the present tense of the main verb. Balkan Slavic languages also retain the imperfective and perfective past tenses (traditionally called imperfect and aorist and lost elsewhere since the Middle Ages or before, except in Lusatian) and use the constructions with the main verb in the l-form (which elsewhere have taken over the functions of the past tense) for resultative and quotative pasts. Macedonian and Bulgarian show a number of verbal constructions (conditionals, perfects, quotatives, etc.) not found in the non-Balkan languages. Macedonian and Bulgarian are the Balkan Slavic languages par excellence; Serbo-Croatian shows some Balkan features, which increase in the Serbo-Croatian speech area as one moves South and Eastward until a broad band of dialects in southern and eastern Serbia shows all or most of them. Standard Serbo-Croatian

shows reduction of the case syste in the noun (historically a result of case syncretism), but not its loss as in Bulgarian and Macedonian, use of the future auxiliary from 'to wish' (but not its reduction to a particle as in Macedonian and Bulgarian) and retention of imperfect and aorist; however, they have disappeared from the colloquial spoken standard, exceptingfor the aorist which survives primarily in eastern (Serbian) usage. There is also considerable diminution of use of the infinitive (involving replacement by the above described da-clause) in the Serbian variety of Serbo-Croatian. Slightly substandard Belgrade speech shows loss of da in the future construction (a step in the way to the particle future) and some reduplication of pronoun objects (influence of immigrants to the capital from Macedonia or southern and eastern Serbia?).

4.0 Grammatical categories characterizing nominal words (nouns, i.e. substantives, adjectives, numerals and pronouns) in Slavic are:

number -- All the languages distinguish singular and plural. Slovenian and Lusatian distinguish dual number as well. In Serbo-Croatian a vestige of the dual remains in the masculine and neuter adjectives after the numerals two, three, four, while Bulgarian and Macedonian possess a special quantified form of plural in masculine nouns.

gender -- (masculine, neuter, and feminine; in the noun signaled only partially morphologically, though all nouns effect gender selection in terms of adjectives which modify them; pronouns show gender distinction only in the third person pronouns, not in first or second person or interrogative pronouns[4]; numerals show gender only residually, in the word 'two').

In a number of the languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, colloquial Czech)

gender distinction is lost altogether in the plural.

animate/inanimate -- all the Slavic languages have this distinction -- Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Czech show it in the masculine singular (genitive and accusative identical for animate; nominative and accusative for inanimate), Czech extends the same distinction (reinforced by morphophonemic alternation) to masculine plurals, while Russian, Ukrainian and Bielorussian have it in masculine singular and all plurals; Polish and Slovak have the distinction in masculine singular and in the plural contrast masculine personal with all non-masculine/non-personal. Polish and Bulgarian also have special forms of the numeral for masculine personal as opposed to non-masculine/nonpersonal. Macedonian has a set of special personal numerals, as opposed to non-personal numerals.

case -- Macedonian and Bulgarian have (except for the vocative) totally lost the category of case from noun and adjective, retaining it only in pronouns. The dative and genitive have been replaced by a phrase with the preposition na, nominative and accusative with the noun alone and other cases with various prepositional phrases. Partial or total syncretism of dative and genitive (also reflected in Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croatian by use of the short dative pronoun to indicate possession, e.g. Serbo-Croatian brat mu 'his brother') and of nominative and accusative is a typical Balkan linguistic trait. Of the inherited Slavic cases (vocative, nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, and instrumental), the vocative has virtually disappeared in Russian, Slovenian, and Slovak, is restricted to masculine

nouns in Bielorussian and is weakening (tends to be replaced by the nominative) in a number of the others (e.g. Serbo-Croatian). The remaining cases are well preserved in the nouns of the Slavic languages, except for the semi-Balkan Serbo-Croatian which has analgamated dative, locative and instrumental in the plural and in the singular has (in colloquial speech) virtually eliminated the distinction (prosodic only, even in normative usage) between the dative and locative. Czech, because of sound changes peculiar to it, shows considerable syncretism of case forms in historically soft stems and more syncretism in the colloquial then in the literary language. In the adjective, case syncretism tends in all the Slavic languages to appear to a slightly greater extent then in the noun.

5.0 The Slavic verb is characterized by the category of aspect, perfective vs. imperfective. Perfective, the marked category, implies that the action of the verb is somehow delimited as a unit in time, particularly insofar as its completion or termination is concerned.[5] The imperfective, on the other hand, is non-committal concerning the beginning or completion of the action signaled and typically, if it possesses a perfective partner, implies ongoing action, action-in-process.

Morphologically the Slavic verb has as minimal constituents a stem and inflectional suffixes (tense formants and endings). The minimal stem is a root morpheme; optional affixes include: prefixes and stem-suffixes, the latter including thematic vowels and pre-thematic suffixes.

	prefix	root	pre-thematic suffix	thematic vowel	inflexional suffixes	
Rus:	na	pis		a	-l -i	'they wrote'
Czech:	vy	boj	ov	a	-ti	'to win by fighting'

Most simple verbs, that is, whose stems contain only a root or a root plus thematic vowel, are imperfective, though a small number of simple verbs are perfective. Usually, a simple imperfective verb will form the basis for a verb family, having one or more perfectives derived from it by the addition of prefixes. Typically, one of the prefixed perfectives serves semantically as a counterpart to the simple verb (with only such additional meaning as perfective implies) while the others involve various related meanings. Minor patterns of perfectivization of simple verbs include change of thematic vowel (usually a to i) or addition of the pre-thematic suffix -n-~nV- (the vowel is usually the reflex of Common Slavic oN, in most of the languages u). From prefixed perfectives there are typically derived in turn imperfective counterparts by the addition of stem suffixes (usually -v-, -Vv-, or -a-).

Many Slavic verbs retain the same stem in all forms, but a very considerable portion show stem alternation, typically between an infinitive stem (the basis for the infinitive, aorist, l-form, and past participles) and a present stem (the basis for the present, imperative, and present participles). Such alternation usually involves alternation of thematic vowels (including replacement of thematic vowel by zero), though other morphophonemic changes may be

involved in a smaller number of verbs.

The categories of the verb involve person and number of the subject (morphologically marked in finite verb forms). The verb paradigm includes finite and non-finite forms; a subset of the latter are the quasi-verb forms. Finite verb forms, i.e. by definition those which express the category of person and number, are present (better "non-past", but the traditional term is here retained), imperative (very limited expression of person, usually only the contrast of first and second persons in the plural, second person alone with no contrast in the singular), imperfect and aorist (the latter two, of course, are lacking in most of the Slavic languages). The infinitive (when occurring) is a non-finite form. Quasi-verbal forms are those which express grammatical categories and/or fulfill syntactic functions of morphosyntactic classes other than verbs. Such are nominal quasi-verbal (participles, l-form, verbal noun) and adverbial quasi-verbal forms (gerunds).

The category of tense is neutralized in the imperative, infinitive, and verbal noun. Tense contrasts are between past (past participles and gerunds, l-form, aorist -- i.e. perfective past, and imperfect -- i.e. imperfective past) and non-past, which latter may be subdivided into present and future. As stated above, the Balkan languages (Macedonian, Bulgarian and, in part, Serbo-Croatian) retain the finite past verbal forms; the remaining languages have lost them. Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and the West Slavic languages express past tense with a construction consisting of the short present forms of "to be" plus the l-form (Czech, Slovak and Polish regularly zero the "be" auxiliary in the third person). East Slavic, which zeroes the verb "be" in the present tense, uses the l-form alone (but with gender-number, i.e. nominal, rather than

person-number, i.e. verbal, agreement) to express past tense.

To express future tense, East and West Slavic use the finite present ("non-past") forms for the perfective future and a construction consisting of regular non-past forms of the verb "to be" plus the infinitive (alternatively the l-form in Polish) for the imperfective future.[6] The South Slavic languages use the same constructions for the future of both perfective and imperfective verbs. Slovenian uses a short form of the regular non-past of "to be" plus the l-form. Serbo-Croatian, as previously mentioned, uses a construction consisting of the short forms of the verb "to want" plus either a da-clause with verb in the present tense or the infinitive. Bulgarian and Macedonian form the future by prefixing an unchanging particle derived from the verb 'to want' to the present tense.

A conditional construction is formed by combination of the l-form either with a special declined auxiliary, historically based on the infinitive stem of the verb "to be" (Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, literary Serbo-Croatian) or with an unchanging particle derived from the same stem (Russian, Bielorussian, Ukrainian, Slovenian, Macedonian, colloquial Serbo-Croatian) or the anomalous present of "to be" plus l-form plus unchanging particle (Slovak, Macedonian alternate construction). Macedonian and Bulgarian also have alternate conditional constructions made by prefixing the future particle to the perfective or (?) imperfective past. Macedonian and Bulgarian, the Balkan languages par excellence, show, as mentioned in 3.0 above, a florescence of verbal categories, expressed for the most part by constructions, not found in the remaining Slavic languages.

Footnotes

1
In many of the Slavic languages, numerals in nominative or accusative case function as phrase head with accompanying noun as attribute in the genitive. If such a phrase is shifted to another case, the noun becomes the phrase head and the numeral agrees with it in case. In other Slavic tongues, the numerals are pure adjectives.

2
It immediately precedes the verb in all the languages but Bulgarian and Macedonian where enclitic pronoun objects may be intercalated between the negative pronoun and the verb. Thus Macedonian Ne go vidov. vs. Serbo-Croatian Ne videh ga. 'I didn't see him'. In Macedonian and Bulgarian ne precedes the future particle ќе, ќе, ще, but the negative future is more usually expressed by nema, njama plus a da-clause. Bulgarian Tój njáma da dójde. 'He won't come'.

2a
Information given here on conditional sentences for East Slavic, Polish, and Serbo-Croatian derives from my contacts with native speakers; for Czech from language textbooks, for Slovak from J. Orlovsky Slovenská Syntax Bratislava, 1959; for Slovenian from Bajec, Kolarič, and Rupel Slovenska Slovnica, Ljubljana 1956; for Macedonian from Z. Goląb, "Syntactic Redundance" SEEJ 8:37-41; for Bulgarian from C.T. Hodge, FSI Bulgarian Basic Course, Washington 1961.

3
Other varieties of Slavic than the Balkan, have, of course, undergone foreign influences, though with less striking effects on their structure. Czech and Slovenian have been heavily affected in vocabulary (loans and loan-translations) as well as to some

extent in phraseology, syntax, and, for Czech, in phonology, by German, while Russian (and East Slavic in general) may have been influenced in syntax by Finnic and Turkic languages.

4 Demonstratives, possessives and certain other modifiers, traditionally classed as pronouns, are here regarded as adjectives. Only interrogative pronouns (Russian któ, čtó) and the personal pronouns are here regarded as true pronouns. The word 'one' is likewise grammatically classed as an adjective, rather than a numeral.

5 In the so-called inceptive verbs, it is, of course, the completion of the beginning or inception of the action which is signalled.

6 The verb "to be" has a double set of present forms. One, morphologically anomalous (and vestigial in East Slavic, where the copula is zeroed) serves as the normal copula. The other, morphologically regular, expresses future (and often perfective) meaning.